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L Action S/S SECRET

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Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: CAHTO 120, JUNE 16, 9 PM CORRECTED PAGE 1.

NIACT

SENT DEPARTMENT CAHED 120, REPEATED LONDON 572, PARIS 336 BONN 207, -EYES ONLY AMBASSADORS.

PRESIDENTIAL HANDLING

RE TOCAH 108.

HR-m/59 9010108 6/23/91

THIS MORNING GROMYKO ASKED TO SEE ME PRIVATELY AND BY ARRANGE-MENT CAME TO MY VILLA AT THREE P.M. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY SOLDATOV AND INTERPRETER. I HAD WITH ME THOMPSON. MERCHANT AND INTERPRETER. HE OPENED BY ASKING MY VIEW AS TO WHERE CONFERENCE NOW STOOD. I TOLD HIM THAT WE HAD BEEN LITERALLY SHOCKED BY HIS PROPOSAL OF LAST TUESDAY. HIM THAT WE HAD ASKED FOR TODAY'S RECESS IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS SENDING A PERSONAL LETTER TO KHRUSHCHEV WHICH I THEN READ TO HIM. I CONCLUDED THAT I WAS GLOOMY AS TO THE PROSPECTS FOR THE CONFERENCE. GROMYKO THANKED ME FOR THE COURTESY OF INFORMING HIM CONCERNING THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE BUT SAID HE WOULD NOT COMMENT ON IT SINCE HIS PRIME MINISTER WOULD MAKE AN APPROPRIATE REPLY.

WE THEN WENT BACK AND FORTH OVER THE OLD HARROWED FIELD OF PAST DISCUSSIONS ON BERLIN. IF ANYTHING HE MADE EVEN MORE CLEAR THAN ON ANY PAST OCCASION SOVIET INTENTION TO GET US OUT OF BERLIN. I TOLD HIM THAT MORE THAN TWO MILLION WEST BERLINERS COUNTED ON US FOR THEIR SAFETY AND FUTURE AND THAT WE WOULD NOT ABANDON OUR PROTECTIVE ROLE. GROMYKO STRESSED HIS DISAPPOINTMENT OVER OUR NEGATIVE REACTION TO HIS ALL-GERMAN COMMITTEE PROPOSAL WHICH HE ASSERTED HAD BEEN LARGELY BORROWED FROM OUR PLAN AND WHICH HE ALLEGED WAS BLOCKED BY FEDERAL REPUBLIC INTRANSIGEANCE. INCIDENTALLY HE MADE PLAIN THAT IN SOVIET VIEW GERMAN REUNIFICATION WAS SO DISTANT

IN FUTURE

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SEGRET

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SECRET

-2- CAHTO 120, JUNE 16, 9 PM FROM GENEVA

IN FUTURE THAT TYING INTERIM BERLIN SOLUTION TO REUNIFICATION WAS TANTAMOUNT TO PERPETUATING OCCUPATION REGIME INDEFINITELY.

GROMYKO THEN BROUGHT UP CERTAIN OTHER SUBJECTS, NAMELY, A DENUCLEARIZED ZONE IN EUROPE, THE NUCLEAR TEST TALKS, GLOBAL DISARMAMENT AND A NONAGGRESSION PACT OR DECLARATION. HE SAID THAT ALL OF THESE HAD BEEN MENTIONED AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER AND SAID THAT SOVIETS WERE READY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS IF WE WERE INTERESTED. I TOLD HIM I THOUGHT WE MIGHT EXCHANGE VIEWS ON POSSIBLE PROCEDURAL STEPS TO RESTART DISARMAMENT TALKS. A SECURITY ZONE IN EUROPE, HOWEVER, I SAID WAS INEXTRICABLY TIED TO REUNIFICATION AND HENCE DID NOT SEEM TO ME SUBJECT TO DISCUSSION IN LIGHT OF SOVIET REJECTION OF ANY PROGRESS TOWARD REUNIFICATION. NUCLEAR TEST TALKS, I SAID, WHILE GOING SLOWLY WERE UNDER NEGOTIATION IN ANOTHER FORUM AND TO MY MIND NOT SUITABLE FOR INJECTION INTO FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. ON NON-AGGRESSION DECLARATION I SAID I DID NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE BUT THAT IT SEEMED TO ME COUNTER PRODUCTIVE SINCE IT WOULD DUPLICATE PROVISIONS IN UN CHARTER TO WHICH WE HAD BOTH SOLEMNLY SUBSCRIBED. I ASKED IF HIS REAL PURPOSE WAS TO ACHIEVE A SORT OF RECOGNITION FOR THE DDR BY HAVING IT CO-SIGNATORY TO ANY NATO-WARSAW PACT NON-AGGRESSION TREATY. HE SAID IF THIS WERE ONLY OBSTACLE WAY MIGHT BE FOUND AROUND IT.

I CONCLUDED BY SUGGESTING THAT WE BE PRACTICAL IN ASSESSING WHERE WE WERE AND EXPRESSED HOPE KHRUSHCHEV WOULD MAKE PROMPT REPLY TO PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE. I TOLD HIM THAT BY EARLY TOMORROW WE HOPED TO GIVE HIM A DRAFT OF WHAT WE CONSIDERED A FAIR INTERIM SOLUTION FOR WEST BERLIN (CONTAINED IN FOLLOWING TELEGRAM). IF THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO HIM (AS THE PRESENT CONVERSATION SEEMED TO INDICATE IT WOULD BE) AND IN LIGHT OF THE SOVIET OBVIOUS DESIRE TO FORCE US TO GIVE UP OUR RIGHTS,

THEN I

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SECRET -3- CAHTO 120, JUNE 16, 9 PM FROM GENEVA THEN I THOUGHT THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH ANY AGREEMENT, IN WHICH CASE MY PERSONAL VIEW, I SAID, WAS THAT WE SHOULD SET A FUTURE DATE TO MEET AGAIN. GROMYKO REMARKED THAT HE

THAT TO DATE HE WAS VERY PESSIMISTIC.

THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION GROMYKO WAS FRIENDLY IN MANNER AND TEMPERATE IN EXPRESSION. IT WAS APPARENT, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS STRICTLY ON FISHING EXPEDITION AND IF HE HAS INSTRUCTIONS GIVING HIM ANY LEEWAY THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE WHATSOEVER TO THIS

WOULD SEE WHAT WE PRODUCED IN THE WAY OF A NEW DRAFT BUT ADDED

HERTER

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EFFECT.

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